

The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291: Some New Realities

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“Art history has come a long way in the thirty years since Otto Demus’s *Byzantine Art and the West* was published” in 1970.¹ In that set of lectures however,² Demus had very little to say about the art of the Crusaders, so in the present discussion one may paraphrase this observation and say that the study of Crusader figural art has come a long way in the years since the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 1965 which dealt with the topic “The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” In this symposium Kurt Weitzmann gave a paper entitled “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* a year later.³ It was the final work in a series of three ground-breaking studies, the first by Buchthal in 1957 and two by Weitzmann in 1963 and 1965/66, that basically defined what was essentially a new field, that of Crusader miniature and icon painting, with several major works from the twelfth century, but the majority of examples from the thirteenth.⁴

My aim is to discuss some of the important issues that have arisen as research has gone forward on this new material, to reconsider aspects of the state of the question with regard to “Realities in Crusader Art.” I understand these “realities” to be of several kinds. First, they constitute “documented evidence,” that is, what we find in the texts and other written sources that document or help document art historical works and artistic developments. Second, these “realities” are the works of art themselves and the documentation they provide for the nature and development of what we now call, since 1963, “Crusader art.” Third, we can think of the realities of these works of art with regard to their historical and regional context, looked at in a conceptual and evidential framework that examines mechanisms and motivations for their creation, as well as their function and meaning.

¹ This is a revised and slightly expanded version of a paper read at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium entitled “Realities in the Arts of the Medieval Mediterranean, 800–1500,” 27 April 2002. The opening quotation is taken from the program statement circulated by the symposiarchs, A. Cutler and A. Laiou, in November 2001.

² The Wrightsman Lectures were delivered at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1966 by Demus and were subsequently published as O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970).

³ K. Weitzmann, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” *DOP* 20 (1966): 49–83.

⁴ H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957); K. Weitzmann, “Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai,” *ArtB* 45 (1963): 179–203, and idem, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom.”

In this essay I will make some observations and raise a series of questions pertaining to what I am calling the “new realities” in the study of thirteenth-century Crusader figural arts.

I. THEN AND NOW

Let us briefly review the state of the question circa 1966 as compared to where things stand today.

1. In 1966 we knew of 21 illustrated manuscripts from Jerusalem and Acre, and about thirty “western-influenced” icons attributed to Acre, all now in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁵ Today the corpus has expanded significantly; we know of thirty-two illustrated manuscripts from Jerusalem and Acre and possibly two from Antioch, while more than half of the approximately one hundred and twenty “western-influenced” icons from Sinai have been published in some fashion along with a few others held in western collections. Most of these works are from the thirteenth century.⁶

2. In 1966 the principal western and Crusader historical texts, the main pilgrimage accounts, and the names of most of the scribes and authors directly connected to Acre and the Holy Land in the thirteenth century were all mostly published. Since then it has been largely a matter of a new generation of scholars becoming conversant with this large body of material, and new critical editions being produced.

With regard to the source texts, for example, we have “rediscovered” the chronicles for what they can tell us about the circumstances in which the works of art were produced.⁷ We also have the inventories of the estate for Eudes, count of Nevers, who died in Acre in 1266. First published in 1871, they provide a unique record of the holdings of a major member of the French nobility—including works of art—in the Latin kingdom.⁸ As documented listings of financial accounts and objects, these inventories are invaluable, but the works of art they describe cannot as yet be identified with extant objects, and the inventories have very little to say about the figural arts as such.

What is still very much under research and discussion today are the chronicles, documents, and other historical materials, especially those written in Arabic, Armenian, and other eastern languages, that pertain to the Crusader experience from the standpoint of the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūks, the Armenians, and the Mongols, among others. Some of these eastern documents have begun to be studied, but as, for instance, in the case of the

⁵ This is the state of the question based on the book and articles by Buchthal and Weitzmann respectively, mentioned above in note 4.

⁶ For the identification of these works, see my forthcoming study “Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre: 1187–1291.”

⁷ One of the important Crusader chronicles for the second half of the 13th century, e.g., is the text written in Old French by “the Templar of Tyre,” which covers the years 1243–1314, as part of the *Gestes des Chiprois*. See the new edition ed. L. Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)* (Naples, 2000), and the new translation with commentary by P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre, Gestes des Chiprois* (Aldershot, 2002). New editions and studies of the various Continuations of the *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre, remain major desiderata for the future.

⁸ A. Chazaud, “Inventaire et comptes de la succession d’Eudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266),” *MAntFr* 32 (1871): 164–206.

accounts of the fall of Acre in 1291, some eastern texts are still not edited and published, not to mention translated and fully discussed, with reference to the major western and Crusader textual sources.⁹

With regard to the authors and scribes, in 1966, for example, we knew of Jacques de Vitry, writer of letters and sermons and bishop of Acre 1216–28, of Thibaut IV de Champagne, poet, crusader, and king of Navarre (1234–53), and of William of Rubruck, O.F.M., world traveler and author of *De Statu Saracenorum* . . . , among other mendicant men of letters in Acre. After 1970 attention was newly refocused on Master Richard, a scribe who wrote Edward of England's Vegetius manuscript in Acre in 1271–72,¹⁰ on the translator John of Antioch, who worked in Acre in 1282,¹¹ on Jaquemin d'Acre, a scribe who wrote the *Image du Monde* in Acre in 1270,¹² and, of course, on Bernard d'Acre, the scribe who wrote the Brussels *Histoire Universelle* (Bibl. Roy. ms 10175) in the 1270s.¹³

3. In 1966 we knew of very little Crusader art between 1191 and 1244/50, and this has not changed very much. We can now identify a few more works of Crusader figural art, for example, the Freiburg Leaf by a German pilgrim to the Holy Land, dating to ca. 1200,¹⁴ and a miter that Jacques de Vitry commissioned in Acre before he returned to western Europe in 1225,¹⁵ along with the controversial luxury Psalter now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. This manuscript, which was first attributed to the Latin East by Buchthal,¹⁶ I am now dating to 1225 and proposing it was done for Queen Isabella of Brienne, Frederick II's second wife. But to a very large degree the major artistic work in this period is in the realm of architecture, which is outside the scope of this essay.

II. BASIC PROBLEMS AND THE NEW REALITIES

We now turn to selected issues that arise from the changes in our understanding of the figural arts of the Crusaders in the second half of the thirteenth century that have occurred over the past thirty-some years. First, there are some changes or corrections that need to be made in the nomenclature we use to discuss this art.

⁹ Donald Little refers to ten historical accounts of the fall of Acre in 1291 in Arabic of which several are still not edited. See D. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem–Leiden, 1986), 159–81.

¹⁰ See, e.g., L. Thorpe, "Mastre Richard: A Thirteenth-Century Translator of the *De re militari* of Vegetius," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952): 39ff, and discussed by J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 16–17.

¹¹ See, e.g., L. Delisle, "Notice sur la Rhétorique de Cicéron," *Notices et extraits* 36 (Paris, 1899): 207–65, and discussed by Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 42ff.

¹² L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: Biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," in *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale. II Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio internazionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale (Rubbettino, 1999), 92–93.

¹³ M. de Visser-van Terwisga, ed., *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (Estoires Rogier)*, vol. 2 (Orléans, 1999), 11–12, and *passim*.

¹⁴ J. Folda, "The Freiburg Leaf: Crusader Art and *Loca Sancta* around the Year 1200," in P. Edbury et al., eds., *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), 113–34.

¹⁵ See F. Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies aux Soeurs de Notre-Dame à Namur et l'Oeuvre du Frère Hugo* (Brussels, 1953), 100–105.

¹⁶ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 39–46, 143–44.

1. *The Artist Known as the “Master of the Knights Templar”*

In 1966 Weitzmann introduced a series of icons which he attributed to a painter he called the “Master of the Knights Templar,” based on a panel depicting St. Sergius and a kneeling donor (Fig. 1). Weitzmann was puzzled by the multicultural stylistic characteristics of the artist: was he Venetian or south Italian in origin? In the end he could not make up his mind and writes: “there is a possibility that our Master . . . may either have been another Venetian . . . or, even if he was a South Italian, may have had a strong connection with Venetian art.”¹⁷ Weitzmann’s solution to naming this artist, “the Master of the Knights Templar,” was based therefore on an aspect of iconography, not style. Observing St. Sergius represented as a mounted soldier saint carrying a “huge standard with a red cross on a white ground,” Weitzmann interpreted it as the ensign of the Templars.

Weitzmann’s interpretation was immediately attacked by Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele.¹⁸ She pointed out that this banner was not the Templar standard, the *gonfalon baucent*, that is, the piebald standard. We know what the Templar banner looks like in principle from Matthew Paris’s *Chronica Majora*, a vertical rectangle, *argent* with a chief *sable*.¹⁹ Variations in Templar insignia are possible; we do see Templars with a red cross on the white portion of a white and black shield in the mid-thirteenth-century frescoes of the Templar church at San Bevignate in Perugia.²⁰ But on the icon we see something rather different, a generic Crusader banner with what amounts to the cross of St. George. This reinterpretation of the imagery on the icon of St. Sergius removes it from any direct association with the Templars, or from any other military order for that matter, for the present. Eventually, in 1980, Weitzmann acknowledged that his nomenclature could not stand and that a new attribution would have to be made.²¹ In response to this need, I am introducing the title the “Workshop of the Soldier Saints,” which refers to a group of artists doing several kinds of icons, most of which represent standing or mounted saints. I find this nomenclature reasonable because the most distinctive Crusader imagery among these icons is found in those examples of soldier saints, whereas all of the work from this workshop seem to have been produced by painters who work in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

2. *The Artist Known as the “Hospitaller Master”*

As for the development of Crusader manuscript illumination in Acre, about 1280 a painter arrived on the scene directly from Paris. In 1976 I proposed to call this artist the “Hospitaller Master” because of the work he did for William of St. Stephen, a Hospitaller

¹⁷ Weitzmann, “Icon Painting in the Latin Kingdom,” 69–74.

¹⁸ The exchange between Weitzmann and Bulst-Thiele was reported to me verbally by Kurt Weitzmann years ago. He said that she had written him a letter questioning his identification and arguing her case. I am not aware that she ever published her views. Eventually Weitzmann agreed with her and felt the necessity to change his interpretation, as indicated below, in note 21.

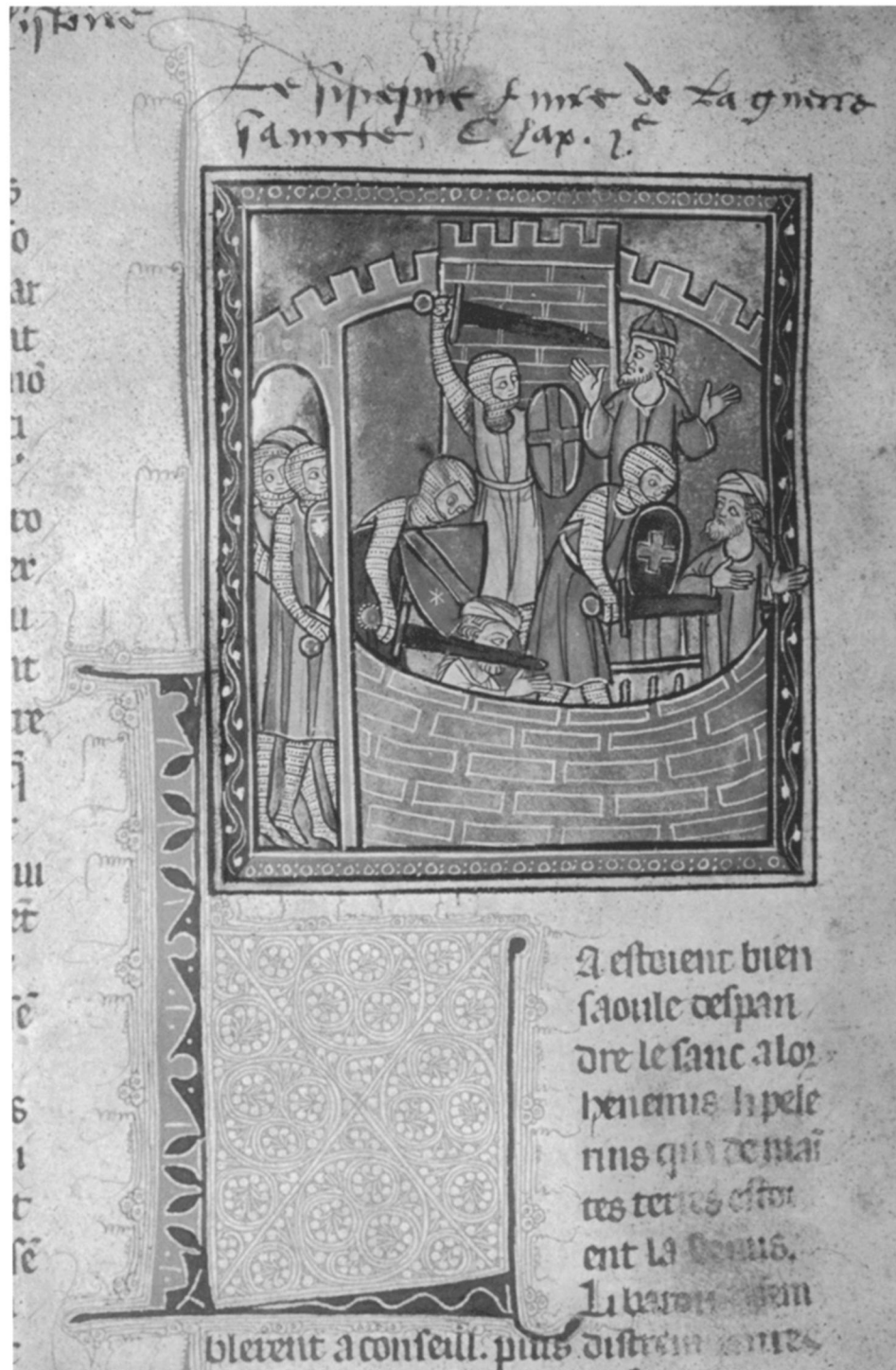
¹⁹ S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1987), 91 and fig. 48, 239 and fig. 153.

²⁰ H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar, A New History* (Gloucestershire, 2001), 144, pl. 5.5.

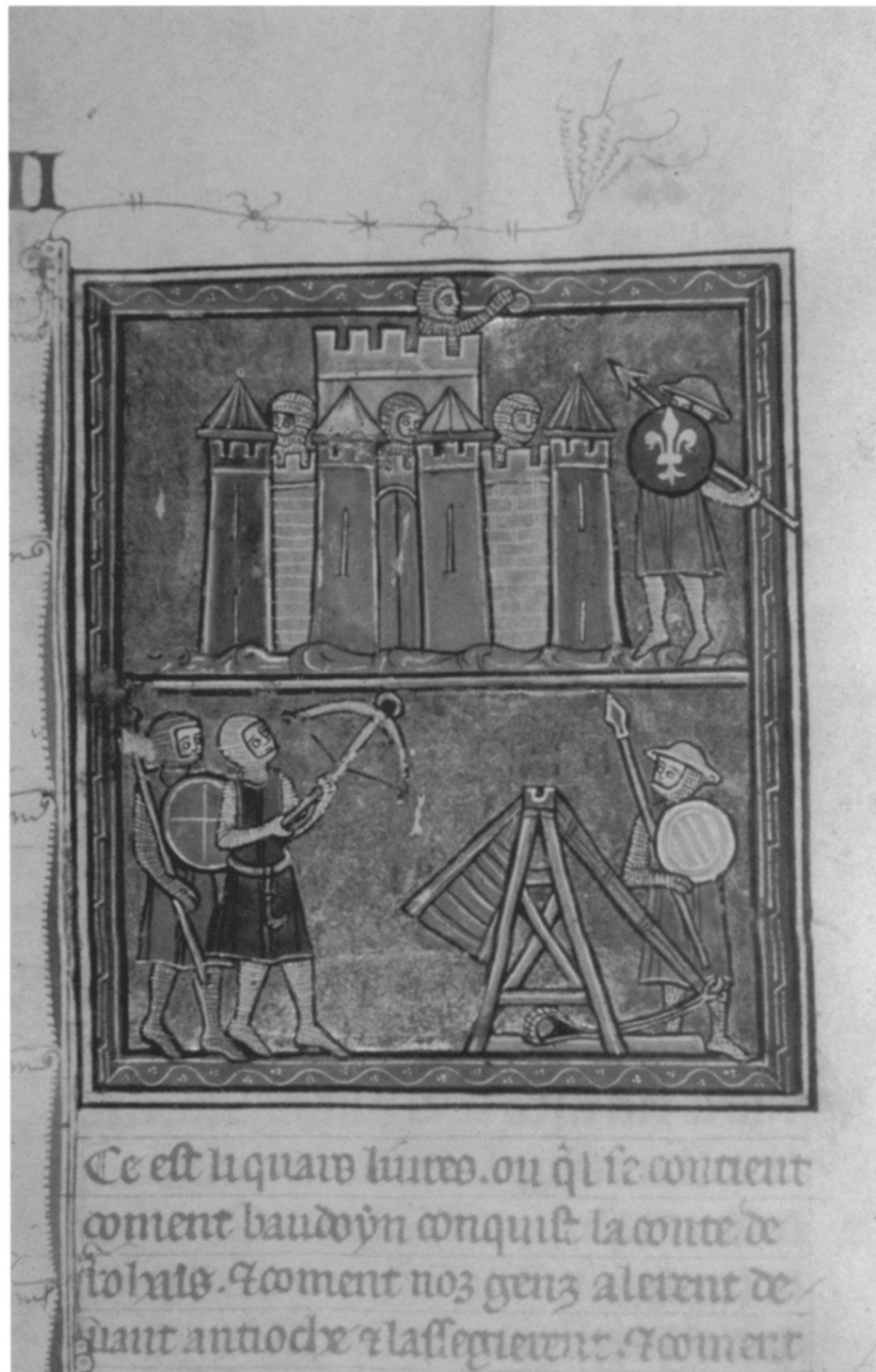
²¹ K. Weitzmann, “Annotations, 1980,” in *Studies in the Arts of Sinai: Essays by Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1982), 435, “p. 72.” Weitzmann proposed to rename the atelier that of the “Apulian Painters” or the “South Italian Painters,” in conformity with regional terms he used for his other attributions. I propose a different name below.



1 Icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, St. Sergius with a kneeling donor (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



2 *History of Outremer*. Boulogne sur Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 142, fol. 49v, the First Crusaders enter and take Antioch with much carnage in the city (photo: author)



3 *History of Outremer*. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms PLU.LXI.10, fol. 42r, the First Crusaders attack Antioch (photo: Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence)



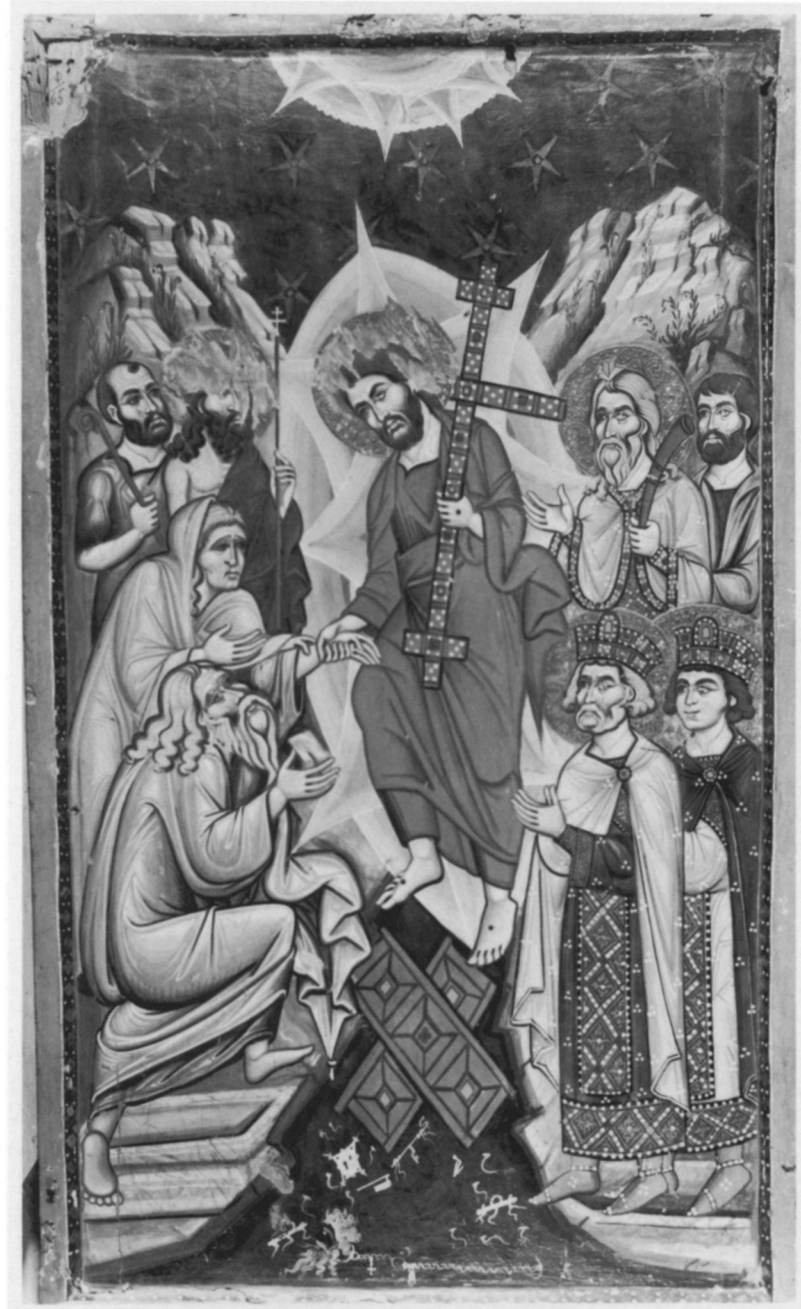
5 *Libellus* of St. Martin, St. Martin healing two cripples. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5334, fol. 1r
 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)



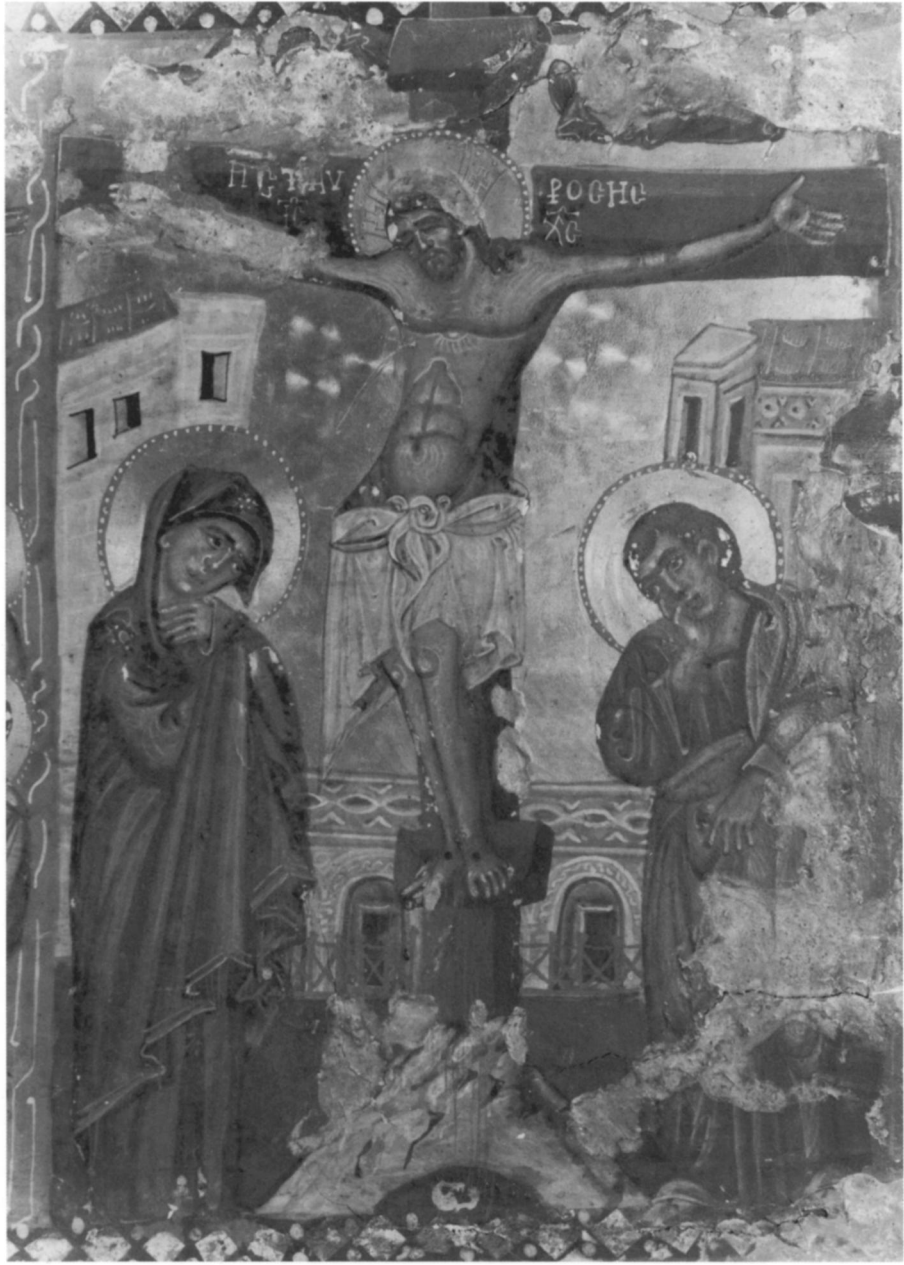
6 Bible in Old French: from the Psalter; historiated initial at the start of Psalm 27. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms 494, fol. 302r (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)



7 Icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Crucifixion (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



8 Icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Anastasis (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



9 Icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, iconostasis beam, Crucifixion (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



10 Icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, iconostasis beam, Nativity, detail (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

jurist, who ordered an illustrated codex of Cicero's *Rhetoric*.²² This is MS 433 (formerly 590) now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly. The so-called Hospitaller Master worked in an up-to-date French Gothic style, which can be related directly to dated work in Paris from the second half of the 1270s. Specifically there is the *censier* of the Abbey of Ste. Geneviève, which is dated 1276—his earliest dated work—and produced in Paris, for which he executed all four miniatures.²³

In addition to the illustrated Cicero manuscript, I also argued that the Hospitaller Master produced six additional codices in Acre: an illustrated Bible, all or part of three *History of Outremer* manuscripts, a *Fait des Romains* codex, and illustrations for Joinville's *Credo*. These manuscripts are the following:

1. illustrated Bible, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404, datable to ca. 1280
2. 17 miniatures in a *History of Outremer* codex, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, datable to 1286
3. two complete *History of Outremer* codices, Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Municipale, MS 142 (Fig. 2), and Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Plu.LXI.10 (Fig. 3), datable to 1287 and 1291 respectively
4. *Faits des Romains/Life of Julius Caesar* codex, Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10212, datable to ca. 1287–88
5. a set of illustrations (drawings) for Jean de Joinville's text on the *Credo*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 11907, datable to ca. 1290/91.²⁴

Since 1976, however, a number of additional manuscripts by this same artist have come to light. (1) From Acre we have one new book, an illustrated codex of the *Livre des Assises*, by Jean d'Ibelin, one of the greatest Crusader legal texts, illustrated by our master about 1290 with a miniature depicting the *Haute Cour* in session (Fig. 4).²⁵ (2) From Paris we have two newly identified books: an illustrated *libellus* of St. Martin, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 5334,²⁶ for which our master did the illuminated initial about 1276–80 (Fig. 5), and, most importantly, an illustrated Bible in Old French, New York, J. P. Morgan Library, MS 494, for which our master did thirty-four of the seventy-six miniatures (Fig. 6).²⁷

In light of these new finds, and the much greater production of his work in Paris than previously realized, we must reconsider the name initially given to this artist. Although heretofore we have called him the "Hospitaller Master," based on his work for William of St. Stephen in Acre in 1282, we must admit that the manuscript of Cicero's *Rhetoric* is the only firmly documented work done for a Hospitaller patron. In fact, he worked for many

²² Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 42–76. The *Rhetoric* text included *De inventione* by Cicero, and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, also believed to be by Cicero in the Middle Ages.

²³ *Ibid.*, 52–59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 60–116.

²⁵ P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *JWarb* 57 (1994): 243–54.

²⁶ J. Folda, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334 and the Origins of the Hospitaller Master," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (London, 1997), 177–87.

²⁷ See A. Stones, "Les manuscrits du Cardinal Jean Cholet et l'enluminure Beauvaisienne vers la fin du XIII^{ème} siècle," in *L'art gothique dans l'Oise et ses environs (XII^{ème}–XIV^{ème} siècle)* (Beauvais, 2001), 263, 265, and the older study, M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscript Books from Collections of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram of Ashburnham now Part of the Morgan Library* (London, 1906), "Old French Bible."

different patrons, including probably one codex for a member of the Templars, the book of *Bible* selections, Paris MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404, for which we have indirect evidence.²⁸ By no means can we say that he favored the Hospitallers with his work; he seems to have worked not only for members of the military orders, but also for diverse clerical and especially lay patrons. The main feature of this master is surely not that he worked for the Hospitallers, or for any other identifiable patron in Acre. Rather, we can identify him especially because he is the sole documented artist working in the Crusader states whom we can denote as having learned his art in the Paris region, in the 1270s, and who then brought his painting style, mature and fully formed, to Acre about 1280, where he appears to have worked until 1291. Accordingly, I propose to rename this artist the “Paris-Acre Master,” a name that seems more accurate and sensible.

3. *Understanding Crusader Style*

Discussing the work of the “Paris-Acre Master” leads to another major issue, the idea of Crusader style. The fact of the Paris-Acre Master’s French Gothic work stimulates reflection on the diverse nature of Crusader style and the many artists who produced it. If the Paris-Acre Master was a French artist who painted in a French Gothic—not a Crusader—style in Acre, he must be distinguished from a Crusader artist who painted in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, like the artist of the Arsenal Bible,²⁹ or an artist who painted in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, like the artist of the bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis now at Sinai (Figs. 7, 8).³⁰

The most important aspect of a Crusader artist is the way he unifies Byzantine, western European, and local Levantine formal and pictorial elements into a distinctive overall style. This indicates that the normal apprenticeship of a Crusader-born artist was effectively done with a Crusader master, not one from the West. By contrast, the Paris-Acre Master was born in France and presumably trained in Paris; he is the first western European painter of any background documented as having come to the Latin kingdom whose work we can identify and document both in Europe, in his case in Paris, and in the Latin Kingdom. As such he is important because he was a French artist who came to the Holy Land already fully formed as an artist. Unlike what we imagine the case to be with most Crusader artists, he was not born in the East of Crusader settlers, possibly with European, that is, French, Italian, German, or English ancestry, and then trained there as a Crusader painter.

When Weitzmann first proposed his idea of Crusader style in icon painting in the 1960s, he apparently envisioned the notion that the artists were westerners who came to the East and developed into Crusader-style painters by gradually learning to combine Byzantine style and technique with their own native tradition. He says, for example, in introducing his section on “Venetian Masters” in his 1966 article, “that some of the Crusader

²⁸ Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 60–65.

²⁹ On the Arsenal Bible, see now D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998), 81–195, in addition to Buchthal’s basic study, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 54–68.

³⁰ Besides his comments on this icon in his 1963 and 1966 articles, cited above, see also K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York, 1978), 114–15, and idem, “The Icons of the Period of the Crusade,” in *The Icon* (New York, 1982), 204–5, 225. Excellent color plates are also published by D. Mouriki, “Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century,” in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis (Athens, 1990), 188–89.

artists . . . were Italian is beyond doubt. It is only when one tries to determine the provinces whence they came that difficulties arise.”³¹ But then later, in 1986, Valentino Pace proposed the contrasting idea that “the very nature of ‘Crusader painting’ eludes all efforts to verify the nationality of its artists; we could go so far as to say that if the origin of the artist can really be detected, his work must no longer be labeled as ‘Crusader’.”³²

From my point of view, I would argue that Weitzmann and Pace are speaking of two different phases of development among Crusader painters in different circumstances. Weitzmann in effect refers to an earlier phase, somewhat rare, where perhaps a young painter, having apprenticed to a Western master, is perhaps still learning to be an artist, something he does with a Crusader master in the East. Pace, however, is describing a later developmental phase in which the artist is perhaps born in the Latin East and has learned directly from fellow Crusader painters, without a separate apprenticeship with a native French or Italian master. The fact that we can see some link to a European artistic heritage in the work of many Crusader artists does not, however, disqualify the painter from being a Crusader artist.

Looking at Crusader artists and Crusader style from this perspective, when we recall Kurt Weitzmann’s formulation about Crusader icons in 1963, certain revisions are required. He writes as follows: “Attempts to distinguish the nationalities of the icon painters may not always be successful, simply because Italian and French artists working side by side and apparently having models from both countries available, gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in what one might simply call Crusader art.”³³ In fact, I would propose that in a Crusader workshop we normally have not “Italian and French artists working side by side,” but *Crusader artists* working side by side, although obviously they may reflect different artistic traditions in their backgrounds and training, and they might also be working occasionally with local eastern Christian artists as well. It is, of course, possible that from time to time a young western artist may have come to Acre, for example, and joined the painting establishment. Such an artist theoretically could have learned the Crusader style on the spot, transforming whatever training he might have already received. The problem is that we have few if any documented examples of such an artist. But with the Paris-Acre Master we have certain evidence that when he came to Acre as a mature artist, he largely retained his own style, the Parisian Gothic style of his primary training. What the Paris-Acre Master teaches us to reflect on is this: it appears highly problematic, based on documented evidence, that an artist who came from the West, already mature and fully formed as a painter, would suddenly, or even gradually, become a Crusader artist working in a fully developed Crusader style.

4. *The Idea of the “Scriptorium of Acre”*

Another related issue that we must reconsider is the notion of “the scriptorium of Acre.” This is a large and complex problem which I can only comment on briefly here, but

³¹ Weitzmann, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” 61.

³² V. Pace, “Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export. I. The Case of Venice,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 334.

³³ Weitzmann, “Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons,” 182.

it is worth making three points to indicate the contributions of recent developments to the ongoing discussion.

First, whereas the early scholarship spoke of the “scriptorium of Acre” as a collective entity comparable to the “scriptorium of Jerusalem” in the twelfth century, study of the works of manuscript illumination and panel painting attributed to Acre in the thirteenth century indicates in fact multiple workshops as well as multiple artists. Although it is probably correct to see one scriptorium in Acre located in the cathedral of the Holy Cross where scribes and artists produced illustrated ecclesiastical manuscripts, such as the Perugia Missal,³⁴ given the diversity of manuscripts and icons produced in Acre between 1250 and 1291, there is no reason to think all of these works came from the same shop. For example, it is very likely that Louis IX’s great Arsenal Bible, created as his personal book of Bible selections in Old French, was produced in the Dominican house in Acre, not in the patriarchal scriptorium.³⁵ It is also likely that artists working on the illustrations of the various popular secular manuscripts, such as the *History of Outremer* and the *Histoire Universelle*, were working in one or more ateliers, quite possibly commercial ateliers separate from scriptoria in religious establishments.³⁶

Second, the relationship between Crusader panel paintings made in Acre on the one hand and in the monastery of St. Catherine, on the other, seems to suggest that there were separate workshops in each place. But there is certainly no reason to imagine, based on the extant works, that the panel paintings attributed to Acre were all being made in the same workshop(s) in Acre as the manuscripts. To take just one example, surely the artists who painted in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of the 1280s, on works such as the bilateral Crucifixion-Anastasis icon (Figs. 7, 8), were not working in the same Acre workshop as the artists who painted the London *Histoire Universelle* Add. ms 15268,³⁷ or the *History of Outremer* codex now in Paris, ms fr. 9084, in about 1286.³⁸

Third, the newly published study by Mary and Richard Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris*, potentially can help us enormously to reshape our ideas about Acre as an artistic place of production.³⁹ The documentation they provide for the development of commercial scribes and artists in Paris from about 1200 on makes it possible to attempt to construct *mutatis mutandis* a working hypothesis about the scribal and painting workshops in Acre, that many different scribes and artists worked on many different commissions. It goes without saying that the workshops of Acre were not the same as those found in contemporary Paris, but we do know that later thirteenth-century Acre was directly linked with Paris as a result of the endeavors of Louis IX in the Latin kingdom,⁴⁰ and we do have the Paris-Acre master working in Paris in the 1270s and

³⁴ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 48–51.

³⁵ Buchthal (ibid., 97 n. 2) first discussed the problem of the “scriptorium of Acre.” He commented directly on it and proposed that “the biblical and liturgical manuscripts written in the ‘scriptorium of Acre,’ which owed its existence to the initiative of St. Louis, were produced in the Dominican house of that town.”

³⁶ Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 27–116.

³⁷ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 68–87.

³⁸ Ibid., 92–93; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 77–91. See also the view expressed by H. Stahl, review of Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, in *ZKunstg* 43 (1980): 416–23.

³⁹ M. A. and R. H. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).

⁴⁰ Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, 1–195.

then in Acre from about 1280 to 1291. As research goes forward we can profitably utilize the paradigm of workshop production provided by the Rouses for Paris to help construct a working hypothesis for the situation in Acre, a hypothesis that will be modified and shaped as all relevant archaeological, historical, and art historical documentation is brought to bear on the problem.

5. *Works of Art in Their Historical Context*

There is at Sinai an iconostasis beam, done according to Weitzmann in the late 1250s in Acre by an artist working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style (Figs. 9, 10).⁴¹ The thirteen scenes of the liturgical feasts contained on this one beam are strongly characteristic of Crusader work, but their Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, and especially their iconography, raise several important questions about the function of this beam, where exactly it was originally intended to be used, and the reasons for its commission and execution.⁴²

Among the various scenes that present Crusader imagery on this iconostasis beam, some of the most interesting and significant pictorial choices are found in the icon of the Nativity, which is combined with the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 10). Whereas the iconography of the Nativity follows fairly standard Byzantine conventions, it is the representation of the Three Magi that excites our special interest. In Byzantine and western iconography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Magi are normally characterized as a group of men consisting of an elderly bearded figure, a middle-aged bearded figure, and a youthful beardless figure. In the West after the tenth century, the Magi are also regularly depicted as kings wearing crowns, but in Byzantine art they continue to wear Persian dress as easterners.⁴³ In this icon, however, all three are quite distinctive and follow neither tradition. The eldest figure, with long, flowing white hair and a long beard, wears

⁴¹ Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," 181. Weitzmann notes that even though the size of the beams suggests that they were done for a chapel at Sinai, "the great diversity of styles precludes the possibility that they were all painted at Sinai itself." As noted above, he changes his mind on this point later. When it comes to this beam specifically, however, he says, "if for the later 13th century we have been able to establish a Venetian workshop, it must be seen in the light of many workshops at Sinai, those organized by Crusader artists being rather an exception than the rule" (K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 12 [1984]: 115, published in 1986). I discuss the special case of this beam below. I think he is correct here in what he says.

⁴² Iconostasis beam now in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. According to Weitzmann, it consists of three wooden boards, the first with four scenes, the second with five scenes, and the third with four scenes. The total length of the beam is 2.25 m. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," 181–83; idem, "Icon Painting," 62–64; idem, *The Icon* (1982), 204, 222–24; idem, "Icon Programs," 82–86.

While in the process of preparing this paper for publication, an article by B. Zeitler which discusses this iconostasis beam came to my attention: "Two Iconostasis Beams from Mount Sinai: Object Lessons in Crusader Art," in *The Iconostasis: Origins—Evolution—Symbolism*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow, 2000), 223–42. Zeitler's interest in this article is to use two iconostasis beams to problematize the concept of "Crusader icons." Even though I did not know of her paper when I wrote and delivered mine, my interpretation presented here can be seen as an affirmation of the notion of the "Crusader icon" by contrast to hers.

⁴³ See, e.g., G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman, vol. 1 (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), 106–10, figs. 269 (mosaic at Daphni, ca. 1100) and 284 (enamel in the Klosterneuburg Altarpiece, 1181). The interesting example of the Three Magi in the Gaibana Epistolary, dated 1259, is a western version from Padua that shows touches of Byzantine and possibly Crusader influence (C. Bellinati and S. Bettini, *L'Epistolario miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana*, vol. 1 [Vicenza, 1968], fol. 19v).

a striking red cloak. The central figure, who is much more youthful and more individualized, wears a short beard and an Italian nobleman's cap decorated with ermine. The third magus, who is also bearded, is represented as a Mongol.

Weitzmann noted this departure from standard iconography and correctly identified the Mongol as a representation of Kitbuqa, the Nestorian Christian general in command of Mongol forces in Syria in the late 1250s.⁴⁴ Although Weitzmann recognized the middle magus as a westerner, he declined to attempt to identify him or the other older figure. Instead, having gone this far, he concluded that, “with the portrait of Kitbuqa, the Nativity picture becomes an expression of the oecumenical hopes of the Pope, St. Louis, and all the Crusaders that an alliance with the Mongols would be a first step toward making Christianity the world religion.”⁴⁵ I believe we can, however, go further with the interpretation of this image.

Recall that in 1260, after the Mongols had conquered Baghdad, Aleppo, Harenc, and finally Damascus, the prince of Antioch and the king of Armenia had negotiated with the Mongol general to avoid attack on their own territories. As a result of their peaceful overtures, Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, and Hetoum I, king of Armenia and Bohemond's father-in-law, were apparently invited to accompany Kitbuqa when he entered Damascus with the victorious Mongol army at the beginning of March 1260. The “Templar of Tyre” is our medieval source for this event, characterized by Steven Runciman in dramatic fashion when he wrote: “The citizens of the ancient capital of the Caliphate saw for the first time for six centuries three Christian potentates ride in triumph through their streets.”⁴⁶ I propose to see this image as additional indirect evidence for the factual accuracy of the report of the Templar of Tyre, as described in turn by Runciman.

At this point we must pause to consider the historical discussion of this event. The sole historical text to record the event is the account by the Templar of Tyre, section 303, written in Old French. The passage in question reads: “The king of Armenia and the prince of Antioch joined the Tartar host and were at the taking of Damascus. When Damascus fell, the prince . . . had a most lovely church purified and censed. This church was from the time of the Greek Christians, from the time when Heraclius had had Damascus fortified;

⁴⁴ This is not the only representation of a Mongol in Christian painting. There is also the more or less contemporary image of Hulagu and his wife depicted as Constantine and Helena with the Holy Cross, in the Syriac lectionary, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Syr. 559, fol. 223v (3rd quarter of the 13th century). See G. Lenzi, “Lezionario dei Vangeli. Siriaco,” in *I Vangeli dei Popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, ed. F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello, and A. M. Piazzoni (Vatican City, 2000), 307–9, fig. 75, in color, showing the beautiful oriental designs of Hulagu's and Doquz Khatun's robes, set against a red background, and the older reproduction in black and white, J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris, 1964), pl. 99, fig. 2. In this image the identification of Hulagu is largely dependent on his physiognomy, and therefore questions have been raised about this identification, but in the iconostasis beam image, Kitbuqa is given not only a very distinctive physiognomy rendered in three-quarter view, but also distinctive Mongol garments, including especially his cap.

Zeitler dismisses this identification as “surely fanciful” (Zeitler, “Two Iconostasis Beams,” 226) and states that “there is no reason that this unusual iconographic feature should be explained with reference to historical events in the Latin East.” On the contrary, in the interpretation offered here, I make the case for what I see as good reasons why this remarkable iconography can and should be explained with reference to historical events in the Latin East.

⁴⁵ Weitzmann, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” 63. Weitzmann restates this view in his “Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai,” 84.

⁴⁶ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 307.

the Saracens had worshipped Muhammed in it, but it was originally the church of the Greeks. He [Bohemond] had the Frankish mass sung within it, and had its bells rung.”⁴⁷ The fact that this is a Frankish source, and that this event is not recorded in other eastern sources, has led some historians to doubt the veracity of this report, seeing it as an unreliable later embellishment of the text for political reasons. It is especially certain scholars of the Mongols and Mamlūks who have challenged the accuracy of the Templar of Tyre on this point, historians such as Peter Jackson, Peter Thorau, and Reuven Amitai-Preiss. By contrast, most Crusader historians, such as René Grousset, Steven Runciman, Joshua Prawer, and Jean Richard, accept this account as valid.⁴⁸

Stepping back from the debate joined by these scholars, we can see that there are differences of opinion in both camps. For example, among the Crusader historians, Hans Mayer verges on doubt; he dutifully reports the episode but notes that the textual source “has recently been doubted,” referring especially to Jackson.⁴⁹ Among Mongol and Mamlūk historians, David Morgan, R. S. Humphreys, and J. J. Saunders all accept the evidence given by the Templar of Tyre.⁵⁰ I submit, however, that there is additional source material to consider, namely, the artistic image of the three Magi on this beam, which can help shed light on this controversy.

Looking again at the Nativity scene and at the three Magi, I suggest that these three figures specifically represent Hetoum I, king of Armenia, as the eldest magus in his royal red robe, Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, in his noble Italianate dress, and Kitbuqa, the victorious Mongol general.⁵¹ They appear here as the three Magi in honor of the remarkable

⁴⁷ Trans. Crawford, *Templar of Tyre, Gestes des Chiprois* (Aldershot, 2002). (I am indebted to Paul Crawford for sending me the proofs of his text and notes to consult.) Among the older editions should be mentioned book 3 of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, RHC: DocArm, vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), sec. 303, 751–52, and the Templar of Tyre, part 3 of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, Société de l’Orient Latin (Geneva, 1887), 161–62, chap. 303. See also the new edition by L. Minervini, ed., *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare* (Naples, 2000), p. 82, “section 67 (303).”

⁴⁸ Those challenging the accuracy: P. Jackson, “The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260,” *EHR* 95 (1980): 481–513; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. P. M. Holt (London–New York, 1992), 68; R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks* (Cambridge, 1995), 31. Those accepting the accuracy: R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1936), 587; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 307; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jerusalem*, vol. 2, 2d ed. (Paris, 1975), 203–4; J. Richard, *Le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), 305; and idem, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291* (Cambridge, 1999), 410.

⁴⁹ H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), 276.

⁵⁰ D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.–Oxford, 1986), 154–55; R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, N.Y., 1977), 353; and J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (New York, 1971), 112–13.

⁵¹ This is not the only appearance of a Mongol in Christian scenes of the Three Magi. In an Armenian manuscript illuminated by T’oros Roslin dated 1260, we find the bodyguard of the Magi, who are mentioned in apocryphal gospel accounts as soldiers who accompanied the Magi, represented as Mongols. S. Der Nersessian suggests that the artist, “bearing in mind that the Magi came from the East, . . . has represented the bodyguard with the facial type and costume of the Oriental peoples best known to him, namely the Mongols, the allies of the king of Cilicia [Hethoum I]” (S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*, vol. 1 [Washington, D.C., 1993], 60 and nn. 45–46, and vol. 2: fig. 212).

Der Nersessian expresses her doubts that the Mongol in the Nativity scene on the iconostasis beam represents Kitbuqa, as Weitzmann proposed and I am seconding here. But her objection, that Kitbuqa was a Nestorian and therefore, in the eyes of the Latins, a heretic, does not take into consideration the complexity of the situation. She does not seem to take full account of the widely differing views inside the Latin community, Latin involvement with Armenian politics, the Armenian alliance with the Mongols, and papal attempts to bring Nestorians—other than Mongols who were Nestorians—back to the fold. Whereas the barons of Acre were

alliance, that, as Weitzmann suggested, for a fleeting moment offered the hope of making Christianity a truly world religion. Kitbuqa “was said to be descended from one of the three Wise Men from the East,” hence his appearance here as a magus, with his other “eastern” Christian allies.⁵² His physiognomy is characterized as Mongol, and he wears a typical Mongol cap. He also wears a beautiful purple tunic held in place by a massive gold belt and decorated with circular golden designs, presumably dress appropriate to a Mongol general.⁵³

Hetoum, the Armenian king, had reigned since 1226, when he was crowned at the age of eleven. So having ruled for an amazing thirty-four years by this time, he was the eldest magus at age forty-five in 1260.⁵⁴ Although we have no image of Hetoum I to compare with this depiction, his brilliant red robe is a characteristic feature of royal and princely Armenian portraits in the second half of the thirteenth century, as seen in the Gospels of Queen Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, fol. 380r, 1272) and the portrait of Prince Vasak in the Gospels of Vasak (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2568, fol. 320r).⁵⁵ There is also the Gospels of Prince Oshin (Morgan MS 740) and the newly acquired leaf containing the dedication page (designated Morgan MS 1111, 1274). Although,

deeply offended by the pro-Mongol, pro-Kitbuqa views of Bohemond VI and his overtures to the Greeks, Bohemond himself had good reasons for his Mongol sympathies and for his attempts at harmonious relations with the Greek Orthodox church in regard to Antioch. As Mayer points out, during this period (1252–75) “Antioch was swept completely into the orbit of Armenian politics” (Mayer, *The Crusades*, 276). The pope had meanwhile, in the 1240s and 1250s, attempted to make friendly overtures to the Nestorians, and some Nestorians living in the Crusader states had recognized papal primacy (B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* [London, 1980], 357). Jean Richard (“The Mongols and the Franks,” *Journal of Asian History* 3 [1969]: 45–57) discusses some of the most important of the complex developments in his basic article, updated in his recent book, *The Crusades, c. 1071–1291*, 408–41.

⁵² Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3: 300.

⁵³ Images of exotic foreigners become a feature of painting in the International Gothic style around the year 1400 in Europe. Despite the advent of “Gothic realism” in the thirteenth century, detailed “portraiture” in terms of dress and ethnic characteristics is still relatively rare in the 13th century. But Crusader painters do occasionally produce interesting examples in panel painting, as here, and in manuscript illumination, as in the manuscript now in London, British Library, Add. MS 15268 (Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pl. 123c). For the depiction of foreigners in later works of the International Gothic style ca. 1400 in western Europe, see J. Kubiski, “Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (*Cité des Dames* Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master),” *Gesta* 40 (2001): 161–80.

⁵⁴ H. Evans, “Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West” (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1989), 28 and n. 68. My thanks to Dr. Evans for drawing my attention to this information.

⁵⁵ For the portrait of the royal family in the Gospels of Queen Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, fol. 380), and the portrait of Prince Vasak in the Gospels of Vasak (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2568, fol. 320), see S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, trans. S. Bourne and A. O’Shea (Paris, 1978), 145, fig. 107, and 147, fig. 109, respectively.

It is not unknown for one of the Three Magi to wear a red garment in Byzantine imagery, and the eldest magus wears a red tunic in the image of the Adoration of the Magi in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, but here a red cloak is specified which compares favorably with the Armenian royal iconography of the Hetoumid family. For the Melisende Psalter image, see Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, 138, pl. 6.8d.

Hetoum I does not wear a crown in the image on our icon presumably because the artist was following a very individual interpretation of the identity of the Magi within the context of a Nativity image which, on the one hand, was substantially Byzantine in its iconography, but in which, on the other hand, each figure is individually characterized as a recognizable historical figure. It is in any case obviously not consistent that all Armenian royal figures wear crowns, as seen in the Armenian images cited above.

in the last example, Oshin was not a royal figure, the bishop Johannes was the brother of King Hetoum I, a member of the royal family who was known to be fond of rich and rare textiles, thus linking this image to the others in its imagery of sumptuous costume at the Armenian court.⁵⁶

Bohemond's Crusader ancestry as ruler of Antioch was, of course, ultimately Italian, hence his aristocratic Italianate costume. He had become prince of Antioch in 1252 at the young age of fifteen, so in 1260 he would have been twenty-two or twenty-three, thus much younger than Hetoum.⁵⁷ Accordingly he is represented as the "middle magus." Again, we have no portrait of Bohemond to compare here either, but a slightly later image of his relative, Tancred, exists in the William of Tyre codex of the *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, on fol. 42r. The manuscript dates from the 1280s, but the miniature demonstrates characteristic imagery for a Crusader prince, similar albeit somewhat more simplified in its details.

There can be no doubt which magus is represented as the Mongol general Kitbuqa. The fact that he is the third magus suggests that he was the youngest figure of the three, but in fact we do not know his age; indeed, from the image we cannot say if he is older or younger than the magus in Italianate costume whom we have identified as Bohemond. But it is clear that even though he is the third magus he is given great prominence in the composition, standing in front of Bohemond, facing toward the Virgin and Child, whereas Bohemond curiously faces away from them and toward Kitbuqa. This is another variation in the imagery, which also can be seen to reflect the political circumstances of the situation in Damascus in March 1260, and perhaps the patronage of this iconostasis beam. Kitbuqa was the victorious general, and it was he with whom Bohemond and Hetoum sought to make an alliance before the entry into Damascus. Kitbuqa was also the magus who looks most distinctively eastern and came farthest from the East. In his own way he presages the images of the black magus who appears in western panel painting later in the fifteenth century, when the black magus not only symbolically represented Africa, but also appeared as the most distinctively "other" of the three.⁵⁸

One unusual feature of these special Magi is that all three are bearded. It is not surprising that Hetoum would be depicted with a long white beard, since he is represented as the eldest magus, and in reality, at age forty-five, he was the oldest of these three figures. Kitbuqa as the youngest magus is the least likely to have been bearded according to the iconographic tradition of this scene. However, there can be no doubt of the artist's intent to represent him with Mongol physiognomy here, and this thin beard type is standard imagery for Mongol leaders at this time, even if we do not have a portrait of Kitbuqa to compare it with.⁵⁹ Bohemond, however, presents a special problem. Westerners were usually distinguished from Greeks and others in the Near East at this time by not wearing a beard,

⁵⁶ See S. Merian, "Un feuillet appartenant à la collection Feron-Stoclet acquis par la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York," *REArm* 27 (1998–2000): 417–21, with a reproduction of M. 1111 on p. 418.

⁵⁷ Bohemond VI was fifteen in 1252 when his father, Bohemond V, died. So he would have been twenty-three in 1260 (Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3: 278).

⁵⁸ See, e.g., the Montforte Altarpiece of Hugo van der Goes, ca. 1472, now in Berlin (cf. J. Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* [New York, 1985], 173, fig. 162).

⁵⁹ See, e.g., the bearded image of Hulagu in a Syriac lectionary book dating ca. 1260 now in the Vatican Library: Vatican Syriac MS 559, fol. 223v. A reproduction is published in *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, 309, fig. 75 (above, n. 44).

as we know from various accounts.⁶⁰ In this case, however, it is in the first place typical of the “middle” magus to wear a short beard in the iconography of the scene at this time. Second, the whole point of Bohemond as magus was the idea of representing him with the others as coming from the East, so the artist appears to have combined the Italianate head-dress with the eastern-style beard to characterize the count of Tripoli/prince of Antioch in his special role for this image. Third, this imagery was chosen and executed in the East, presumably for a Crusader patron by a Crusader artist. Hence the appearance of a beard on a figure representing the “middle” magus, who is also meant to refer to Count Bohemond, cannot be judged by strictly western European standards, but must be considered in its eastern context where Crusaders are also known to have adopted Near Eastern style on occasion for their dress and grooming.

Why then would the scene appear on this iconostasis beam, painted by a Crusader artist? Who is likely to have made this commission, where was it executed, and for what church was it intended? Weitzmann’s proposal is that the iconostasis beam was executed for the Frankish chapel in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁶¹ But there is another and seemingly more attractive possible function for this beam that must be considered. When the Christian triumvirate entered Damascus in March 1260, Kitbuqa is reported by the Templar of Tyre in the passage quoted above to have allowed Bohemond and his Frankish troops to establish a place of worship in a former Byzantine church that had for a long time served as a mosque.⁶² It is hardly surprising that Bohemond would have ordered a Latin mass to be performed in it,⁶³ and since the church in question in Damascus had formerly been a Byzantine church, it seems possible, indeed probable, that the real purpose of this restored church in Damascus was to be open, not only to Latin Christians, but to eastern Christians as well.

I propose therefore that the iconostasis beam at Sinai may have been commissioned with this and other special iconography to decorate the newly reclaimed church in Damascus. Furthermore, I suggest that an order was sent from Bohemond to the Crusader icon painters at St. Catherine’s monastery on Mount Sinai. Perhaps the wood for the beam was sent to Sinai from Tripoli at Bohemond’s directive,⁶⁴ and perhaps Bohemond’s commission was transmitted to Sinai via Acre, where he knew the painting could be ordered immedi-

⁶⁰ See the enlightening remarks by Giles Constable in his long introduction on “Beards in History,” in *Apologiae Duae: Gozechini Epistola ad Walcherum and Burchardi, ut videtur, Abbatis Bellevallis, Apologia de Barbis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 62 (Turnhout, 1985), esp. 85–130.

⁶¹ Weitzmann remarks that this iconostasis beam was made for the Latin chapel at Sinai in his “Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai,” 82–86.

⁶² Templar of Tyre, part 3 of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud, 161–62, chap. 303; and book 3 of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, RHC: DocArm, 2: sec. 303, 751–52.

On the Templar of Tyre, identified as the secretary to William of Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Temple, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3: 482. On this report, see now the discussion of D. Sourdel, “Bohémond et les chrétiens à Damas sous l’occupation mongole,” in *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. M. Balard et al. (Aldershot, 2001), 295–99. She does not believe that the mosque in question was the great mosque of Damascus.

⁶³ Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 325. Hamilton also comments that “the intrusion of an Orthodox prelate in a Latin see through the intervention of a Mongol war-lord was predictably viewed with abhorrence by the Latin hierarchy in the kingdom of Acre,” but it was short-lived, just as the Christian control of Damascus was fated to be.

⁶⁴ Until the wood used for these beams and the relevant icons can be scientifically examined in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, we will not know what possible information can be learned about the origin and nature of the wood.

ately with the best possible available painter. However it was effected, the commission was duly carried out in mid-1260, with the special imagery indicated to commemorate the triumphal entry of Kitbuqa, Hetoum, and Bohemond.

But unfortunately, by the time the work was nearly done, the political and military situation had changed, swiftly and radically. As a result, the beam was never finished, as evidence indicates,⁶⁵ and apparently it proved impossible to deliver it. By then Damascus was back in Mamlūk hands and the church for which the beam may originally have been intended was presumably once again a mosque under Muslim control. The pivotal event for all of this was, of course, the battle of Ain Jalud, where on 3 September 1260—only six months after the taking of Damascus—the Mongol army was destroyed, Kitbuqa was decapitated by Baybars, and the Muslims were restored to power in Syria. The dream of Christianity conquering the Near East, retaking the holy city of Jerusalem, and becoming the dominant world religion through a Crusader alliance with the Mongols and the Armenians, as expressed in our Three Magi scene, was now definitively over. Clearly Islam would now become the dominant world religion in the Near East.

What irony that an artist working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style would paint this image, since it was the Venetians (and especially their trade routes) whom the feared Mongols threatened throughout the later thirteenth century. What a vivid illustration of the vicissitudes of history that an iconostasis beam, apparently commissioned to decorate the sanctuary of a Christian church in Damascus, was never completed and never reached its intended destination. Instead it remained in the monastery where it was painted, its original purpose apparently unrecognized for centuries.

To return to the issue at hand, I believe that the passage in the Templar of Tyre, section 303, is accurate and that this painting on the iconostasis beam provides us with complementary evidence to verify the accuracy of that report. Here we have “documented evidence” from both an artistic work and a historical text to corroborate the record of an important event and to help us understand the meaning of a remarkable image. We could address in a similar manner a number of other examples, such as the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal, both referred to earlier, as well as the Acre Triptych.⁶⁶ All three, among many others, provide important opportunities for deeper investigation by these methods.

⁶⁵ The unfinished character of the painting on this beam can be observed in the red, stylized cable design dividers placed between the individual scenes. These vertical dividers are meant to connect with the painted borders top and bottom, consisting of gold lozenges and paired pearls on a black ground, to frame each scene. Close inspection of the beam reveals, however, that the red dividers between the Annunciation and the Nativity, the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, the Presentation and the Baptism of Christ, and the Baptism and the Transfiguration, were never painted. Furthermore, the divider between the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the Last Supper was only partially done: the lower 80% was painted, whereas the top part was left unfinished and simply has the gold ground between the two scenes.

My observations are based on firsthand study of this iconostasis beam in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The presence or lack of the red dividers on this beam can be clearly seen in published reproductions. See now J. Cotsonis, “220. Templon Beam with Feast Scenes,” in Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York and London, 2004), 362–63, with the beam reproduced in color.

⁶⁶ For the Arsenal Bible, see Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, 81–215; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 54–68. For the Perugia Missal, see Buchthal, *ibid.*, 48–51; A. Caleca, *Miniature in Umbria, I. La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia* (Florence, 1969), 79–82, 169–71, pl. ix. For the Acre Triptych, see Weitzmann, “Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai,” 185–90; *idem*, “Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom,” 59; *idem*, “Annotations, 1980,” 433.

III. CONCLUSION

Looking at the field today and at the realities of Crusader figural arts in particular, we can see some very odd developmental characteristics. Why, for example, were so few illustrated manuscripts and icons painted in the years 1191 to 1244/50, only to be followed by such a flourishing production between 1250 and 1291, an output that showed no sign of dropping off as the end of the Crusader kingdom neared?

The patronage of Crusader works of art seems to expand from the personal commissions of kings and queens, the high clergy, and the military aristocracy to more diverse possibilities in the later thirteenth century. We can identify other individual patrons of means, such as merchants and pilgrims, and we are beginning to identify group or collective patrons, such as the military and religious orders, on the one hand, and confraternities on the other. We know how important confraternities were in Italy in the Dugento, providing patronage for major works of art like the Rucellai Madonna by Duccio in 1285.⁶⁷ We must endeavor somehow to find the documentation on confraternities in the Latin kingdom, in Acre and Tyre, and possibly Tripoli and Antioch where they must also have been active as art patrons.⁶⁸

In terms of function, we now are beginning to identify and understand diplomatic gifts as an important category for the investigation of art historical material. There are several important examples in Crusader art of the thirteenth century, including the Riccardiana Psalter of 1225 and the remarkable *Histoire Universelle* codex, Add. ms 15268, in the British Library.⁶⁹ Icon painting must have been done to serve this function as well.

Finally, several large and important questions remain concerning the art of the Crusaders in the Levant, especially two.

1. With regard to artistic developments in the region, there is still the issue of Cyprus, as an artistic as well as a strategic, political, military, economic, cultural, and religious factor. Even though we know a great deal more about the art of Cyprus from the work of Annemarie Weyl Carr and from the publications of the late Doula Mouriki, among others, Cyprus and the role it played in the Crusader artistic development during the thirteenth century, that is, during Lusignan rule, still remains to some extent a large question mark just fifty-some miles west of the Crusader states in Syria-Palestine.

2. An equally large and important question is the artistic production and key developments in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Whereas we are beginning to understand how Cyprus assumed an interactive role with the Crusader states politically and art historically in the later thirteenth century, the important role of Constantinople under Latin rule and the nature and development of the art of the Latin Empire are essentially still to

⁶⁷ L. Bellosi, "The Function of the *Rucellai Madonna* in the Church of Santa Maria Novella," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, Studies in the History of Art 61 (Washington, D.C., 2002), 147–59.

⁶⁸ There are two basic works to consult: J. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971): 301–8; and J. Richard, "La Confrérie des 'Mosserins' d'Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII^e siècle," *OrSyri* 11 (1966): 451–60.

⁶⁹ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 39–46, 79–87. For further discussion of these pivotal Crusader manuscripts and their patrons, see the discussion in my forthcoming study on "Crusader Art in the Holy Land . . . , 1187–1291."

be determined. Its potential for shedding light on the revival of Crusader artistic production in Acre in the 1250s is enormous.

Finally, without doubt one of the major changes in the field of Crusader art as Weitzmann defined it in his 1963 *Art Bulletin* article, and as it existed in the 1965 Dumbarton Oaks symposium, is the large increase in scholars working in or contributing to the field now as compared to then. It is these scholars who will redefine the new realities of the art of the Crusaders in the next thirty-five years.

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